

World War II Memory in the Palmetto State vs. South Carolina's Civil War Legacy

For World War II and Memory Workshop, Indiana University

9-10 November 2007

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Columbia, SC

In 2003 William Bendt sat at his kitchen table in his Charleston home reminiscing about life in the 1940s, first as a Navy Yard employee and then as a soldier in the 2nd Armored Division fighting the enemy from Normandy to Germany. It was apparent that this part of his long life had an indelible impact on his mind even though he had rarely discussed it with anyone up until then. With the war's end Bendt returned home seeking a normal life in which to raise a family just like most fellow veterans. "We didn't talk about it and that was alright with me," Bendt observed. But now, in the autumn of life, the Charleston native wanted to talk about it. Encouraged by the growing public interest in the history of those years by media stories, family, and friends, Bendt realized that it was important to record his small part for his grandchildren and future generations. His service was a unique time in American history. In his mind, and those of millions of other Americans who lived and served during World War II, he had witnessed a period in the nation's past when for one brief period its citizens were united behind a single purpose. Such an attitude is a common refrain in books, documentaries, and individuals reflecting back on those four years of war. And yet such beliefs are not as accurate as many would claim.¹

Certainly African American veterans and their families can tell a more complicated and troubling story about World War II, whether at home or overseas. Larry Foster from Cheraw, SC, is one of thousands of black Americans who recalled a less rosy, more fractious America. Although he left his home to fight the Axis and served in several tense, gruesome actions in the South Pacific, his white officers continued to be suspicious of him and his fellow soldiers because they were black. These American citizens still lived in a segregated

society where equal opportunity for most non-whites did not exist. This was especially the case in South Carolina during the 1940s. As the United State went off to war to defeat racist regimes in Nazi German and Imperial Japan a significant number of its own citizens could not participate in the political process, were prevented from taking most skilled jobs, and even when they could, most whites refused to work beside them. Even in the US Armed Forces black soldiers were segregated from whites and many were prevented from serving in combat roles because white officers did not believe they were competent enough to serve in front line action. During World War II these racist attitudes began to slowly change. But a segregated military remained American policy throughout the remainder of the war despite an executive order (8806) issued in 1941 by President Roosevelt that made discrimination in war industries and federal agencies illegal.²

As the post-World War II generation has begun to rediscover the sacrifices of their fathers and grandfathers (not to mention mothers and grandmothers) their recollections often center on the nation's unity during the war and the need to remember that American service men in World War II defended the nation's freedom by defeating Germany and Japan and "preventing them from conquering the world." They rarely know, it seems, that the nation in the 1940s was segregated and that the US military adhered to the strict separation of the races.³

The selective memories of the World War II generation and those of the post-war generation are not unique. Memory is an elusive, often deceptively inaccurate way to reconstruct the past without other sources. Numerous historians have demonstrated that the reliance on memory as the main source of past events ignores the reality that memories, whether recalling something a few years old or sixty years old, forget many things that are crucial to understanding historical events. In other words, Emily Rosenberg has argued, "memory is presented as an ever changing process through which 'realities' are remembered and forgotten."⁴ As time passes new events alter earlier ones, so that memories of World War II, by those who lived at the time, are affected by later events such as the Vietnam War and the growing affluence of American society. The tendency of the war generation to recall 1941-45 as the most united time in the nation's history probably grows out of a sense of disunity and

conflict that has seemingly affected the country from the Vietnam era to the present crisis over Iraq. Thus in 1975 Nels Olson, an American POW in a German camp in World War II, wrote that it was time for every American to “demonstrate our love of freedom by being patriotic Americans.” His remarks seemed to suggest that in the wake of the national divisions caused by the Vietnam conflict, people needed to rekindle their patriotic regard for flag and country like he and his fellow POWs had discovered in World War II thirty years before. Yet when examining the World War II years, whether it was through newspapers, letters, or government documents of the day, it is clear that unity in American was elusive and not so widely demonstrated in the war years. That unity that leaders in Washington tried to foster in 1941-45 was only a thin veneer that often marginalized, if not ignored, crises in issues ranging from housing shortages, disagreements over food and gas rationing, and the ongoing racist policies at all levels of society. This was particularly the case in South Carolina and its neighboring states. In other words the achievements and sacrifices of World War II were often embellished while the problems and conflicts within society, whether in the military or on the home front are minimized or forgotten. This revised memory becomes greatest when examining racial divide and conflict during the war years and after.⁵

Memory about race is difficult to deal with. In South Carolina its history is entwined with more than World War II. The American Civil War began in Charleston Harbor eighty years before Japan attacked Pearl Harbor but its causes are tied to race and slavery. Although a significant number of South Carolinians still argue that the Civil War was about States’ Rights, that is the right of a state to leave the federal union on its own accord, the evidence of the day, whether from newspaper accounts or letters, demonstrates the right to own and transport human chattel was the main issue. Perhaps the fact that more Americans died in this conflict (620,000), more than any fought before or since, makes people sensitive about admitting so many lives were lost over such a central issue. Proportionately the human loss for the Palmetto State was even higher. One-fifth of its entire white male adult population died and in defeat the state’s economy and society was virtually destroyed. South Carolina did not fully recover from the economic devastation until the mid 20th century. And because of these staggering losses I think it can be argued that within the psyche of some South Carolinians today they are still not fully recovered, or as is said, “Forget, hell!” Today these

different memories about the Civil War are demonstrated in the dispute that still simmers over the Confederate battle flag symbol- some say it represents heritage and respect vs. those that say it signifies hatred and oppression. Even though the battle flag came off the State House dome in Columbia in 2000 people on both sides of the issue dispute its current location on the state house grounds. So as World War II memory is recalled and publicized in South Carolina today the Civil War and its legacy still capture the minds and emotions of many of its citizens.⁶

Although the 200 interviews with World War II veterans used generally for this overview, along with a lesser number of interviews with others who worked on the home front, rarely mention the Civil War the memory of race confrontation among most whites is negligible, if not forgotten, in South Carolina. On the other hand race plays a major role in the memory of black veterans and their families who worked on the home front. This divergence follows a pattern when the causes of the American Civil War are discussed in current South Carolina society. Few whites see race as an overarching cause of the war while most blacks definitely do. Newspaper editorials and letters to the editor will provide additional detail about this divergence in memory.

Despite this racial division South Carolina veterans, regardless of their ethnic background, usually recalled their service against the Axis as a patriotic duty mixed with a sense of adventure. Most veterans recall a surge of patriotic furor once they learned that Pearl Harbor was attacked. They were eager to join. But often they had to wait for parental consent. Richland County native James Scott could not join until after graduating from high school in June, 1942. Once he did he found most of training in the alien climates of the northern Midwest, in Minnesota and Wisconsin, where the cold winters were a tough issue to deal with along with the rigorous training. Bruce Tate, Columbia native, made it to university before he entered service. A high school graduate in 1940, he went to the University of South Carolina on a football scholarship. After two years of college he was called into the US Army in spring 1943. Sent for basic training at the Upstate training facility of Camp Croft on the edge of Spartanburg, SC, Tate recalled one of his coldest times in his World War II service was on winter maneuvers at this camp. This, despite the cold winter of 1944 spent in

the Ardennes during the Battle of the Bulge. Yet he recalled his maneuvers in South Carolina as the coldest where his feet nearly froze.⁷

Although all veterans experienced some sort of hardship in training, African Americans had another, more complicated problem. Not only was military training hard but they also had to endure racial discrimination both on and off their training bases in their own country. Bura Walker, a Louisiana native, was drafted into the US Army and began training at Camp Pike, in his native state. Then he and his unit were transferred by rail to Fort Bragg, North Carolina before getting sent to Fort Jackson on the outskirts of Columbia, SC. Here Walker was promoted to warrant officer. This achievement was rare for blacks, but despite its rewards with better pay it became a problem. Since he was not an enlisted man any more he could not billet with them. On the other hand, Jim Crow laws of the South made it illegal for him to take up residence in the officers' quarters since they were all whites. Consequently, Walker had to find living quarters off base in the black section of Columbia. That meant a jeep and driver were assigned to take him home each evening and return in the morning to bring him back to base.⁸

Although some black units trained at bases like Fort Jackson, they were strictly segregated from the majority white units on base. To train all-black divisions the US Army created one facility for them in Arizona. Fort Huachuca, a small, isolated camp for the small black contingent of the regular U.S. Army during the late 19th and early 20th century, was expanded early in World War II to train two black units, the 92nd and 93rd Division. With a small contingent of black junior officers, the divisions were commanded by white senior officers who distrusted their black recruits. This was the situation that Larry Foster found himself in soon after his entrance into the US Army. A native of Chesterfield County, South Carolina, he recalled racial conflict during his training near this southwestern base.⁹

For African American veterans the insults from white officers, whether direct or indirect, made their military training that much more difficult and thus they recalled their service with many more mixed feelings. They were patriots that wanted to serve their nation just like their white counterparts but they were not respected by most white officers. Instead they had to

fight not only the enemy but also their country men who denigrated them simply because of a different skin color. Thus small fights between white and black groups often occurred and these, sometimes led to open riots of hundreds, both in the Southeast and other training bases throughout the country. One of these occurred at Fort Jackson in April 1941 when gun fire between white and black units occurred after a few white soldiers attacked a black soldier swimming in a pond near their bivouac. Once on the front lines, race as an issue could disappear, at least in the desperate action of combat. But usually white veterans rarely, if ever, recall black troops on the lines, except in a negative light.¹⁰

Neither Scott nor Tate recalled seeing black units, let alone serving alongside them. Yet, Scott had several bombing missions over the Balkans and Romania before he was shot down. And during the same time, the 99th pursuit fighter squadron consisting of trained African American pilots from Tuskegee, Alabama escorted American bombers over targets from Italy to Romania. If they did so for any of Scott's missions, he never brought it up. Likewise, Bruce Tate, who entered the ground war in July 1944 in the middle of the Normandy campaign as an infantry replacement in the 30th Division, never recalled seeing black troops. And yet, there were black logistical units in his area just as there were in the Battle of the Bulge where Tate had his most difficult combat experience.¹¹

Bura Walker recalled discrimination in the 1700th Combat Engineers that was assigned to supply water and build bridges for advancing troops. One particularly sinister rumor that he and many other black troops endured, originated with white soldiers. They claimed to European allies that black troops were monkeys that had tails. Such a preposterous accusation was apparently an attempt to prevent European women from having relations with African Americans. Yet, at the same time, Walker recalled that in serving in Patton's 3rd Army as they drove through France toward Germany, rumors among his black comrades were that the General would not tolerate segregation among his troops. For this most aggressive of American generals, all his soldiers, regardless of color, were to be treated equally. He did not tolerate white soldiers who tried to maintain segregation in his ranks.¹²

On the South Carolina home front the disconnect between white and black recollections are just as distinct. South Carolina's biggest war industry was at the Charleston Navy Yard. Located about ten miles inland from the harbor on the Cooper River, this facility built destroyers, landing craft and smaller vessels for the United States Navy and repaired innumerable war ships for both Allied and American Navies. At its peak, the Navy Yard employed more than 25,000 workers with a variety of skills. With so many male employees joining the armed forces, naval authorities turned to new labor resources - women and African Americans. By the peak of employment in 1944 nearly 5,000 women had found jobs, mostly in traditional male positions, including welding, sheet metal, electrical, and machinist shops. African Americans, who had worked in low-skilled jobs in small numbers before 1942, saw their numbers increase to more than 6,000. And some found employment in skilled jobs like white females. Nonetheless, black workers had difficult moments when they came in contact with white workers, even when they were doing their assignments.¹³

Many informants, who lived in wartime Charleston or other areas of the Palmetto State, remember food and fuel rationing, the problems created by shortages in housing, and at the same time, the unity that the community had for the war effort. Robert Sneed, a pipe fitter at the Charleston Navy Yard, remembers long hours spent working on the shipping ways and then, after work, the off duty volunteer hours he gave to patrolling the coast against possible enemy submarines. Lois Ann Johnston recalled a city that was united in support of the war effort where everyone chipped in to volunteer where they could. She did her part by doing a Red Cross course to learn emergency first aid. Although Ann Fox came to Charleston in 1942 to work at the US Army Ports Authority near the Navy Yard, she recalled the city as a thriving, exciting place to be during the war. Although she thought that the wealthy women, the "blue bloods," of old Charleston society tended to avoid doing anything unladylike, i.e. they did not work in war industries, they still volunteered for the Red Cross and other community activities. Although she had to scramble to find enough rationed sugar in order for the local baker to make her wedding cake in 1943, she said it wasn't hard to find family and friends to donate portions of their monthly ration allotment so she had enough.¹⁴

While these typical aspects of home front life are remembered with fondness, decades afterwards, few whites living in this coastal city or any other South Carolina community had much to say about blacks in their cities and towns during the period. Even though they made up nearly half of the state's population on the verge of war in 1940 (1.08 m to .814 m), it seemed as though they almost did not exist in the memory of whites decades later. One of the few exceptions to this "amnesia" was the recollection of an incident in wartime Charleston by a Navy Yard lab technician, Eva McCartha. When getting on a local bus two blacks tried to sit near the front, something strictly against the Jim Crow laws of the South at that time. But when the bus driver told them to move back they seemed to hesitate. At that, the driver pulled out a pistol and ordered the two African Americans to the rear. They quickly complied and no further incident occurred.¹⁵

While this recollection is one of the few exceptions from white memory that acknowledged at least a hint of racial tension, documents of the period demonstrated that fear of race conflict was periodically high, especially among whites. The Charleston newspapers reported race tensions had reached such a point in the summer of 1942, that rumors were spreading that Charleston blacks were stockpiling picks and other weapons to stage a riot by the end of the summer. Although local law enforcement never produced evidence to substantiate these rumors, the mayor was convinced enough by early September, to have the local annual black Labor Day parade cancelled that year.¹⁶

At the Navy Yard one black laborer recalled that there was virtually no chance of advancement for blacks even if they had the requisite skills. Oliver Perry had assisted white crane operators before and during the war, it was not long before he had to train new white operators recruited in large numbers as the Yard rapidly expanded in 1942 and 1943. However, he realized that in spite of the war emergency and the need for trained operators he had no chance of promotion. He accepted his role until he was drafted into the Navy in late 1943. After the war he returned to the Navy Yard as a laborer and did not reach his full potential as a certified crane operator until nearly two decades later. And that only became a reality after his demanding equal treatment based on recently passed federal laws against discrimination in the workplace.

Outside the navy installation, newspaper editors and black correspondents showed the continuing disagreement about race equality and racial separation. The editor of the *Charleston News and Courier*, a long time advocate of racial separation, ridiculed the attempts by national leaders of the NAACP who equated the nation's war against fascism with the black attempts to achieve economic and political equality. William Watts Ball editorialized in late 1942 that such nonsense deserved no response. Even though the Charleston paper opposed the idea of black equality in its editorial pages, it still printed critical letters from black readers. In one 1943 letter a black writer criticized the paper for highlighting all the problems in his community without also examining their achievements, such as black scientist George Washington Carver at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Another black correspondent complained to the same newspaper that despite all the obstacles placed before minorities they were making progress and did not need whites to help them continue to improve their life.¹⁷

Outside of Charleston even small newspapers in towns such as Walterboro, some forty miles inland from the coast, saw its white editor and black correspondents arguing over equal treatment for minorities. W.W. Smoak, the owner and editor of the local newspaper (and a state representative), conceded in a June 1945 editorial that all men should "be free and independent to follow their own desires," but he still insisted that segregation of the races must be maintained. If not, he believed that southern poverty would continue because of the "shiftlessness and inability of the negroes in the South to advance." Despite what black leaders stated to the contrary, Smoak was unconvinced. He even argued that white southerners were black citizens' best friend and the source of whatever advancement minorities had achieved.¹⁸ Black correspondents had the temerity to disagree.

In many ways this division remains in the post-World War II generation. Nearly two decades after World War II, one US Army soldier residing in the Palmetto State, as the commemorations of the centennial of the Civil War began, observed to the new President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, that Southerners were using the centennial to fight the Civil War over again. He saw "confederate flags flying from school flag poles" as well as

“small children carrying confederate pennants dressed in full confederate uniforms and using the term yankee [sic] as if it was taking the lord himself in vain.” The soldier was so concerned by what he was seeing in early 1961 that he went so far as to predict if South Carolinians, and Southerners, in general did not calm their rhetoric and ardor for the past he feared that it could endanger the entire nation and cause its very down fall.¹⁹

Looking back, another four decades later the ardor for one’s Confederate ancestors and their failed effort to defeat the dreaded “Yankees” has calmed, despite one soldier’s predictions. Most South Carolinians focus on the sacrifices and achievements of their fathers and grandfathers in combat or on the home front in World War II. Now they bemoan the poor efforts in many schools to teach about World War II and the generation that achieved victory. Judy Cotner of Columbia, while growing up in North Carolina in the 1960s, said her school rarely taught World War II history. Furthermore she hardly realized her father had served in France and Germany until she became an adult. But now she believes it essential that her son and all children of his generation learn about the sacrifices and triumphs of their grandfathers.²⁰

Although some schools are improving curriculum to focus more attention on World War II history through special oral history projects that students conduct with local veterans of the war, these still seem to be an exception to the general rule. And the schools and programs that do focus on World War II history, whether it is interviewing veterans or “Rosie the Riveters,” tend to focus on the combat roles of the soldier and the sacrifices they made without looking closely at the burden that race had on the combat and the home front. The complicated aspects of the war years, whether it is problems over gender equality in war jobs or racial separation and the conflict this caused, are marginalized in lessons and public programs so that the patriotic actions of veterans and the home front predominate. So while one white post-war correspondent could see the tragedies of World War II in the Holocaust, the Bataan Death March, and the impact of the atomic bomb, the segregated Armed Forces did not.²¹

This contradiction continues in South Carolina on two levels. First many whites still view World War II as a fight to preserve freedom and democracy even though most minorities were denied these within the United States. Similarly, the service of Confederate troops from South Carolina is still viewed by some residents as defending the freedom and liberty of its citizens, during the Civil War. Most still do not equate it as a war to preserve the right to own slaves. Instead it is a conflict to preserve “States’ Rights” against tyrannical federal government. Thus, as South Carolinians commemorate the sacrifices and achievements of the World War II generation they tend to hold commemorations for their Confederate ancestors in the same vein. This is reflected in the 1999 reburial of twenty-two Confederates in Charleston. Moved from under a stadium grandstand located at the Military College of South Carolina, The Citadel, the remains were re-interred in one of the city’s revered cemeteries. The eulogy by a Lutheran clergyman observed that the 3,000 people, including 300 reenactors clad in uniforms of Confederate grey, present to pay their respect to these long dead soldiers, were “giving them an honor and dignity long overdue.”²²

And as the United States continues to commemorate the World War II generation through documentaries (most recently Ken Burns, *The War*), some South Carolinians continue to focus as much attention on Confederate ancestors who tried, and failed, to break their state’s political ties to the federal Union. Although it would be incorrect to say that most citizens of the Palmetto State find the Civil War more significant to the state’s legacy than World War II there are a few that try to stress how separate and unique the South is from the rest of the nation. In such publications as the *Southern Partisan*, the argument for this distinctiveness is continually emphasized in each of its issues. By losing the Civil War, not only was the South returned to the United States fold as a subjugated people under an oppressive central government, but according to one recent writer, “the defeat of the South was the end of America’s experiment in liberty and self government and a conscious choice to emulate the central governments of Europe.”²³

Even in the midst of a booming economy that has enveloped the Palmetto State since the 1960s, commemorations of Confederate veterans and their exploits in a losing cause can still be found. Like the reburial in Charleston in 1999, smaller ceremonies to remember a bloody

conflict nearly 150 years ago continue in parts of the state. Every Confederate Memory Day, held annually in May in South Carolina, descendants of Confederate veterans and a few interested others, march from the city cemetery to the State House where the Confederate monument stands on the north side of the building. And each year the names of the some 20,000 veterans who perished in the conflict are read out loud near the monument over a twenty-four hour period. Often a speech is made. For one example, during the 1980 rededication of the Darlington County (SC) Confederate Monument, the speaker proclaimed that those present had come to honor the memory of their ancestors who “sacrificed their lives and their fortunes for a principle . . . the inalienable right of free men to frame their own form of government and. . . perpetuate their own self chosen type of civilization.” Similar words can be heard at World War II dedication ceremonies inside and outside South Carolina but the memory of those in attendance is not necessarily the same.²⁴

Endnotes:

¹ William Bendt interview with the author, 12 December 2003, Charleston, SC. All interviews, unless otherwise indicated, are deposited at the South Carolina State Museum, Columbia, SC. Popular books on World War II emphasize a unified nation, particularly Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation*, 1999 and a variety of newspaper accounts during anniversaries of World War II. See for example “The Old Order Dies, A New America is Born,” *Special Collector’s Edition of Life Magazine*, 1995 and *the State*, 7 June 2004.

² Larry Foster interview with Barbara Mooneyhan and Everett Davis, 2 February 2006, Cheraw, SC, interview on DVD, copy on file at the SCSM. For the presidential decree that Roosevelt reluctantly issued after pressure from the NAACP and other black leaders see Maggi M. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women Remember World War II*, (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), 24, 29, 37-38; Fritz Hamer, *Charleston Reborn: A Southern City, Its Navy yard, and World War II*, (The History Press, 2005), 91; Merl E. Reed, *Seedtime for the Modern Civil Rights Movement: The President’s Committee on Fair Employment Practices, 1941-1946*, (Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 14-16.

³ This is an observation made by the author through numerous conversations with people over the years at commemorations of World War II in Columbia, SC and in meetings with visitors at various SC State Museum exhibitions that began in December 1991. See for example Bruce and Judy Cotner interview with the author 14 August 2007, Columbia, SC. The author also emailed questions to selected people in the state about their recollections about World War II growing up in the 1940s through the 1960s, see for example George to author, 28 August 2007, in possession of the author.

⁴ Emily Rosenburg, *A Date Which Will Live*, (Duke University Press, 2003), 4, 7.

⁵ For more discussion about memory and its illusive, selective creation see *ibid.* and Wayne E. Lee, "Mind and Matter-Cultural Analysis of American Military History: A look at the State of the Field," *Journal of American History*, (March 2007), 1136, 1137. Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War*, (Oxford University Press), 1989, 142-143. For former POW quote see *The Columbia (SC) Record*, 9 May 1975.

⁶ The dispute over the Confederate Battle flag and its prominent location on the grounds of the State House see Hamer, "Was it Heritage or Defiance? How the Confederate Flag came to fly over the SC State House," paper presented at the 2000 annual meeting of AASLH, New Orleans, LA. And see letters to the editor January 17, 1980; January 21, 1986; January 24, 1988, verticals file on the Confederate battle flag, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. These letters typify the conflicting attitude of the battle flag symbol in South Carolina. Some argue that the flag represent heritage and the honoring of their ancestors who fought to defend the state against invasion, 1861-1865. Others claim it is a symbol of oppression and slavery.

⁷ James Scott interview with the author, July 1990, Columbia, SC and Bruce Tate Interview with the author, November 1990, Columbia, SC.

⁸ Bura Walker interview with the author, 12 October 1990, Columbia, SC.

⁹ For history of these divisions from training to combat see Maggi M. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*, 2000. And Larry Foster interview with Everett Davis and Barbara Mooneyhan, 2 February 2006, Cheraw, SC.

¹⁰ For several examples of small and large racial incidents around the nation in World War II, including the one at Fort Jackson, see Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*, 99-112.

¹¹ Scott Interview, Tate Interview. Note that the actions of black units at Normandy and the Battle of the Bulge are noted in Morehouse, *Ibid.* For the distinguished service of the 99th Pursuit Squadron see William L. O'Neill, *A Democracy at War*, (Free Press, 1993), 237-238. For an oral history of the 99th see John Holway, *Red Tails, Black Wings: The Men of America's Black Air Force*, (Yucca Tree Press, 1997). For ground combat service of black units in Europe see David P. Colley, *The Road to Victory*, (Warner Books, 2000), 218-221.

¹² Walker interview.

¹³ For details on the war work distribution and racial problems at the Navy Yard see Fritz Hamer, *Charleston Reborn: A Southern City, Its Navy Yard and World War II*, (History Press), 2005, 61-91.

¹⁴ Ann Fox interview with the author, 16 February 1996, Charleston, SC; Robert Sneed interview with the author, 6 December 1995, Mount Pleasant, SC; Lois Ann Johnston Wyly (with her husband Ried Wyly, MD)interview with the Author, 23 February 1996, Summerville, SC.

¹⁵ Eva McCarthy Hutton interview (with her husband Sherlock Hutton) with the author, 19 June 1991, West Columbia, SC. Julian Petty, *20th Century Changes in South Carolina Population*. (Bureau of Business and Economic Research, School of Business, University of South Carolina, 1962), 55.

¹⁶ *Charleston News and Courier*, 6, 8, 10, 12 September 1942.

¹⁷ For Ball editorial see *Charleston News and Courier*, 20 December 1942. For black writers see Hamer, *Charleston Reborn*, 86.

¹⁸ Hamer, *Charleston Reborn*, 140.

¹⁹ Bill Wallace to John F. Kennedy, Feb. 7, 1961, Civil War Centennial Commission Records, National Archives, as quoted in Robert J. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965*, Baton Rouge: (LSU Press, 2007), 86.

²⁰ Cotner interview.

²¹ Email from George to author, 28 August 2007.

²² For details on this event see *The State*, 13 November 1999.

²³ Ken Burns' documentary, *The War*, premiered on National Public Television 23 September 2007 and ran for eight episodes of two to two and half hours each. It is the latest and longest TV series to examine the role of Americans, on the grass roots level, from the military to the home front during World War II. Charley Reese, "Southline: Jefferson Davis," *Southern Partisan*, (Vol. XXV1, 1, March/April 2007), 37.

²⁴ For Darlington dedication see William Stanley Hoole, "Address Delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Unveiling of the Darlington County Confederate Monument, May 10, 1980," copy on file at the South Carolina State Library, Columbia, SC. The author has witnessed several of the annual Confederate Memorial Day commemorations in Columbia, usually on the second Saturday in May. The reading of the Confederate dead are read the Friday before, starting in the morning and continuing into the evening. The readers switch every half hour or so.